1: Kelly E-5 (1930) 1934 Northern Paiute
Surprise Valley

ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE SURPRISE VALLEY PAIUTE

BY

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The following report is based upon field work among the Northern Paiute or Paviotso of northeastern California during the summer of 1930. The investigation was financed jointly by the University of California and the Bureau of American Ethnology.

The names Paviotso, Paiute,[1] and Northern Paiute are used interchangeably in this report, and unless otherwise indicated, all statements apply specifically to one band of such Paiute known as the Gidü'tikad[2], or Groundhog-eaters. Some forty members of that band are now living at Fort Bidwell, Surprise valley, Modoc county, headquarters for the season's field work. As the result of a five-day visit[2] to the Klamath Indian reservation, some scanty material was obtained from members of a related band, formerly of Silver and Summer lakes, Oregon, but now living on that reservation near Beatty.

It seems likely that the account of material culture here contained is as complete as can be made at the present time, for there is little of the old life left. A few roots are dug in spring, and berries are gathered in the fall, but seed gathering and the old hunting methods have fallen into disuse. A few baskets, mediocre at best, are to be seen; some rather nice skin dressing is done; most infants are carried in cradles; but aside from this, statements by informants are the sole reliance. Little was obtained on political institutions, probably owing to paucity of development rather than to fragmentary information. Such is not the case with religion, which is still more or less flourishing. At least shamanistic cures are in vogue, and a number of the older people frequent the sweat-lodge upon occasion, there to pray to the sun. The meagerness of the data must be attributed to the very

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[1] Not to be confused with the Southern Paiute who are also known in the literature as Paiute.

[2] At private expense, borne by myself and by Miss Elsie Kober, of Fort Bidwell.

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K 101 Hoo-ne-boo-ly Snakes.[87] No fifth group (the Yahooskin) is included in the tabulation, as it was in Huntington's 1865 listing of five "Snake bands."[88]

K N 101 131 b) Late in 1868 Huntington made a trip through south-central Oregon; in a long unpublished account of this trip, written at Umatilla Indian Agency and dated December 22, 1868,[88a] Huntington lists and describes all the Snake groups in south-central Oregon. The only Snakes he mentions as being on Klamath Reservation are a destitute group of "about 130 souls" in Sprague River Valley, at "Yinax."[89] It is a matter of record [K 166] that this group of 130 Snakes were newcomers to Sprague River Valley, having moved there only a few months before Huntington visited it.[90] We know that the Sprague River Klamath or "Yahooskin" were also on the Reservation in 1868; therefore, since no reference is made to them it is plain that Huntington, like Applegate, did not regard them as Snakes.

c) In 1870 Klamath Sub-agent Capt. O. C. Knapp refers in his Annual Report to "the Yahooskins, half Klamaths, half Snakes."[91]

K N 166 648 d) In 1872, after Yainax sub-station had been established at the eastern ("upper") end of Klamath Reservation, in middle Sprague River Valley,[92] I. D. Applegate, Yainax sub-agent, enumerated the four groups of Indians under his care at Yainax Station. Applegate lists Schonchin's group of Modoc who were removed to Yainax in 1870;[93] Ocheo's band of Snakes, which was moved to Yainax from Camp Warner in 1869;[94] a Silver-Summer lakes band of Snakes which moved to Yainax in 1868;[95] and finally, "the Sprague River band."[96] This latter group is, obviously, the Klamath-Snake group under MoctunkaskEt which Drew had encountered in Sprague River Valley in 1864. It is also, obviously, equatable by elimination with the post-Reservation Yahuskin who were in the Valley but who are not mentioned by I. D. Applegate.

K N 161 e) In 1875 population figures for Klamath Agency are given as follows: Klamaths 543, Modocs 103, Piutes 100,[97] Wal-pah-pe Snakes 101, Yahooskin Snakes 143.[98] In 1876 the Yahooskin are silently combined with the Klamath, in the following figures: Klamaths 676 (as against 543 of the year before), Modocs 100, Pi-ute Snakes 100, Walpahpe Snakes 137.[99] The 1877 figures are Klamath 667, Modoc 93, Walpahpee Snake 137.[100] In 1878 figures are given only for the Klamath (681), the Modoc (101), and the "Walpahpee or Yahooskin Snake" (148); the latter entry is clearly a con-

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
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fusion.[181] In 1880 and thereafter population figures are for Klamath, Modoc, and Snake Indians.[182]

f) In 1926 Simon Isaac, a Klamath Indian, testified that the Yahuskin (by which he meant the post-Reservation Yahuskin) were at the 1864 treaty-signing, that he had seen them there, and that Moctunkas'kEt (who signed the treaty as a Klamath) was their chief. Isaac then volunteered that "the Paiutes [Walpapi Snakes] came to the Reservation two years later"—but unfortunately his volunteered testimony concerning the Paiutes was not pursued.[183]

N K 101 166 648

g) In 1951 Ocho Winnemucca, a Northern Paiute,[184] when asked through an interpreter at the Reno hearing if he had ever heard of the people called Yahuskin, said: "Yes, he knows the one. In Oregon. He says are different tribe [from the Paiute]. That was the Chiliquin.'"[185] Asked again if the Yahuskin were Paiute, he stated positively, "'No, different altogether.'" Asked a third time "'How about the Yahuskins, were they Piute?'" his answer was, "'No, he says they're not Piutes.'"[186] Incredible as Winnemucca's replies seemed at the time to the attorney questioning him the historical data amply support his identification of the post-Reservation Yahuskin as being "Chiliquin" (Klamath), and not "Piute" (Northern Paiute).

N K 101

3. Northern Paiute of the Silver-Summer-Abert Lakes Region. That there were Indians who frequented the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region in the first half of the 19th century and that these were probably Northern Paiute-speaking peoples, is indicated in various early sources. That these people were not "The Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians" who ceded this region in the treaty of October 14, 1864 and that they were not the "Yahooskins" of post-treaty Klamath Agency records, has been shown. Who, then, were they?

N 101 131 114

Early source material yields hints, only, in answer to this question. On May 27, 1827, Peter Skene Ogden, Chief Trader in charge of a Hudson's Bay Company Snake Brigade, had fifty-six horses stolen from his brigade near "Salt Lake" (Abert Lake?). Ogden remarks, "Shd. the thieves be Snakes we may find a guide." Two days later he notes that "the thieves' camp consisted of 14 tents." On June 1st, while on the borders of some "muddy lakes" (Warner Lakes?) Ogden "found huts of

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32, 34, 38-40, 43-44, 68, 73-74, 92, 167-168, 171, 208-211, 216-218, 223-226, 231, 237-238, 255-256, 270-271). See also Capt. John M. Drake's conclusions after his long summer campaign of 1864 against the Northern Paiute of central and eastern Oregon (WR, pt. 1, pp. 341-342).

51. Population figures for the Yahooskins appear in the RCIA for 1865-1875 (RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] pp. 650, 655; RCIA 1866 [CDS #1284] p. 89; RCIA 1867 [CDS #1326] pp. 62, 71, 92; RCIA 1868 [CDS #1366] p. 584; RCIA 1869 [CDS #1414] pp. 618-619; RCIA 1870 [CDS #1449] pp. 516, 598-599; no mention RCIA 1871; RCIA 1872 [CDS #1560] pp. 781-782; RCIA 1873 [CDS #1639] p. 384; RCIA 1875 [CDS #1680] p. 618). After 1875 the Yahuskin are included with the Klamath in population figures, except for two confused entries relating to Walpapi Snake population in 1877 and 1878 (RCIA 1877 [CDS #1800] p. 567; RCIA 1878 [CDS #1850] p. 788). By 1880 and thereafter population is recorded only for the Klamath, Modoc and Snake Indians; the Snake Indians are the so-called Walpapi Snakes who in 1883 are given as "about 150" souls (RCIA 1883 [CDS #1959] p. 129).

52. Place of Religious Revivalism, pp. 386, 403. Nash is mistaken about the Sprague River Valley Klamath being intermarried with the Modoc in pre-treaty times. There were no Modoc living in Sprague River Valley until 1870, when Peter Schonchin and a small group of Modoc were removed from Modoc Point on Upper Klamath Lake to the newly established Yainax Station in Sprague River Valley (RCIA 1870 [CDS #1449] pp. 516-518, 532; RCIA 1874 [CDS #1639] p. 447; Court of Claims E-344, p. 200; McLaughlin, My Friend the Indian, pp. 322-323). The Sprague River Valley Klamath were intermarried with the Northern Paiute, as we shall see from contemporary material by Drew.

53. Richardson had evidently been taking his train north on the "trail that led from Yuka [Yreka] via Little [Lower] Klamath Lake" and across upper Sprague River at John Day's Ford to Silver Lake, thence across the desert to the headwaters of the John Day River, when he was attacked near Silver Lake. See RCIA 1862 (CDS #1157) p. 142; Drew, Official Report, p. 5; WR, pt. 2, p. 381.

54. Drew, Official Report, pp. 2-6; WR, pt. 2, p. 900; NA. WDC. DP. D-58-1864.

55. Variant transcriptions of this Klamath leader's name are Moghenkaskit (Klamath treaty of October 14, 1864) and Motcunka'skEt (Spier, Klamath Ethnography, p. 36). His Modoc name was Pomoaks (Court of Claims E-344, pp. 409, 954, 998, 1044). After the treaty his English name was Moses Brown (Nash, Place of Religious Revivalism, p. 431).

Drew's material on Motcunka'skEt is fully confirmed in later sources. In October, 1864 Motcunka'skEt's name, recorded as Moghen-

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force is now in the lower part of Sprague River Valley digging roots..." (NA. BIA. OSFP. Letters Received. Box "D," Lindsay Applegate to Huntington, May 31, 1867).

87. RCIA 1867 (CDS #1326) p. 395; RCIA 1868 (CDS #1366) p. 812.

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88. RCIA 1865 (CDS #1248) pp. 650-652.

89. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1869. H-18. Huntington to N. S. Taylor, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Umatilla Indian Agency, Dec. 22, 1868. "The chief object of the expedition was to visit the Snake Indian tribes, ascertain by personal inspection their precise condition, and take such measures as were in my power to secure a continuance of the peace recently inaugurated."

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90. See 2. 3.

91. RCIA 1870 (CDS #1449) p. 516.

92. Idem; also RCIA 1871 (CDS #1505) p. 715.

93. Idem.

94. "Ocheo's band" (now known as the Surprise Valley Paiute) was brought to Yainax from Camp Warner late in 1869, as the result of a council at Camp Harney in November, 1869 (RCIA 1870 [CDS #1449] pp. 516-518, 531-532; Meacham, Wigwam, pp. 226ff.; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1870. M-1045; NA. Record Group No. 98, U. S. Army Commands, Nov. 22, 1869). Part of Ocheo's group wintered on Klamath Reservation at Yainax until 1876-1877 (RCIA 1878 [CDS #1850] p. 612; Brimlowe, Bannock Indian War, p. 52), but after 1877 none of the group remained on the Reservation, as census figures for 1878 show.

95. See 2. 3.

96. NA. RCIA. OSFP. Letters Received 915, I. D. Applegate to Odeneal, April 30, 1872.

97. Ocheo's group; see fn. 94, above.

98. RCIA 1875 (CDS #1680) p. 618.

99. RCIA 1876 (CDS #1749) p. 218.

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100. RCIA 1877 (CDS #1800) p. 300. This is from the Statistical Tables. The Agent's report of Aug. 22, 1877 reads, "Klamath Indians, 667, Modocs included in treaty, 93; Snakes included in Walpalla, or Yahooskin, 137" (ibid., p. 567).

101. RCIA 1878 (CDS #1850) p. 788.

102. RCIA 1880 (CDS #1859) p. 202; RCIA 1881 (CDS # 2018) pp. 202-203, 343.

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[161]

Panai'na's band, Drake concluded at the end of his campaign, probably numbered "fifty or sixty fighting men and some women and children—it would be impossible to say how many—and is composed in part of Snake Indians proper, who have united themselves under able leadership[163] for the purposes of plunder, and in part of renegades from other tribes actuated by a like motive" (underlining ours).[164]

In June, 1864, Panai'na's group committed several robberies on the northern section of the Canyon City Road;[165] by June 24 Panai'na was farther south on the same road, attacking Richardson's train near Silver Lake.[166] From Silver Lake he visited Sprague River Valley, in an attempt to persuade MotcunkaikEt's Sprague River Valley Klamath "and the Klamaths generally" to join him in a war against the Whites.[167]

Two and a half weeks later Panai'na was back in the Crooked River country where, on July 12, 1864, he encountered Capt. George Currey's command. Currey forced Panai'na to flee southeast, to the south side of the desert region of central Oregon.[168] Six days later Capt. Currey's expressman from Camp Alvord[169] saw and was chased by five or six Indians of "Po-li-ni's band" in the mountains twenty miles south of Lake Harney.[170] A little later in July Panai'na was again heading west; Capt. Currey was told that the Snake leader "had joined 23 wickiups at a small lake 30 miles west of Camp Alvord."[171]

Still later in July, 1864, Panai'na moved north again to the ever-lucrative Canyon City road. In the High Desert region some distance north of Goose Lake he attacked Tower and Company's train, killing two men and taking 350 head of cattle, which he drove to Warner Mountain, "the Sebastapol of the Snake Indians." On Warner Mountain Panai'na and his group feasted on the cattle and kept a watch on Drew's expedition for twelve days in early August, as Drew moved east of the Warners. Twice Panai'na prepared to attack the expedition, but decided it would not be safe to do so. When Drew explored Warner Mountain on August 8-12 he found

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648 728 wanted the women and children and horses that had been taken the preceding month returned, and that he wished to live with his people "between [Ft. Klamath] and the Dalles, East of the trail where it crosses the Des Chutes, and near a big mountain [Paulina Mt.?] East of the trail."[179]

[161] From "one of [Panai'na's] Indians that was at the [Klamath] treaty" Kelly obtained an estimate, based comparatively on the number of Indians who had been at the treaty, "that Pan-ni-nie has about 500 Indians."[180] This number is repeated by George Nurse, an employee at the Fort, who states that "he [Panai'na] has five hundred under his command lit[t]le and great."[181] Nurse also says that Panai'na desired "to come in and live on the rode that Leads [131] to the Dalls that his country is between that rode and the rout[e] that Co[l]. Drew went through this somer."[182]

Kelly observes that when Panai'na first came in to Ft. Klamath "he looked very sullen, his brows were knit heavily but before he left he got cheerful with the hope of get[t]ing his women, &c."[183] From Nurse's letter we learn that "the Captin" [Kelly] gave Panai'na "1 sack of rice and some shugar."

At Ft. Vancouver Gen. Alvord was delighted to hear that Panai'na had declared for peace. In a letter to Huntington, Alvord gives an interesting bit of information about Panai'na, and affords us insight on how the Army and Indian Office "made chiefs." Alvord writes, "Mr. Logan, agent at the Warm Springs Reservation, said that the Indian women said that Po-li-ni's brother was [622] the principal chief, he being only war chief. No doubt it will be our policy to treat Po-li-ni as the head chief if he is friendly and peaceable, to increase if possible his power, and to make use of him in controlling all the Snake Indians."[184]

During the winter of 1864-1865 Panai'na remained at liberty, but was warned to keep the peace and not to go near the Warm Springs Reservation.[185] Early in April he sent word to Capt. Kelly by Motcunka'skEt that he "had been among several tribes of the Snakes, and advised them, as well as his own people, to be friend-

648 131 The Northern Paiute from Silver and Summer lakes under Tchâktot and Enkaltoick remained permanently on Klamath Reservation, in the eastern or Upper End. Late in November, 1868, Huntington visited them at "Yi-nax" and found that they consisted of about 130 souls, "in deplorably destitute condition, both as regards food and clothing. They are absolutely without clothing.... As to food, their only resource was a little store of roots and seeds which they had gathered in autumn, after the troops had ceased to harass them...."[230] In December, 1868, Ivan D. Applegate[231] reported thus on the new arrivals: "On Ish-tish-en-wax creek [Fishhole Creek] on the eastern line of the Klamath Reservation[232] there are near a hundred Snakes who lately came in, who show a disposition to remain peaceable, all express an ardent desire to be permanently settled on the Klamath Reservation."[233]

[161] [511] [262] [161]

648 From 1869 onward the Walpapi were administered from Yainax, together with the Sprague River Klamaths ("Yahooskin Snakes"), Skontian's band of Modocs, and Ocheo's band of "Piutes" or "Snake Paiutes."[234] Occasionally additional Snakes from Silver and Summer lakes came in to join the Walpapi, as in 1870, when Ivan D. Applegate reports that: "On the 15 [March] inst. twelve Snake Indians, Three (3) men, Three (3) women and Six (6) children came in [to Yainax] from Silver Lake. They are highly pleased with the prospect here, and say they will be able to bring in during the comeing summer, upon the Reservation, a number of their people."[235]

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648 726 For several years after they settled on the Reservation, hunting parties from "Choctote's band of Pah-Utahs...were not unusual" in Summer Lake Valley, according to Gen. Edward M. Canby. In 1873 three of Tchaktot's people who had gone to Summer Lake to trade were killed as hostiles by the settlers. In 1874, according to Klamath Agent L. S. Dyar, "a small party of Snake Inds. belonging to Chocktote's band" retaliated by killing "one or two head of cattle in Summer Lake Valley, a short distance from the Reservation line.... The leader fled to some of the Snake bands to the East of Warner...."[235a]

In 1870 "Old Chief 'Moskosket'" of the Sprague River Klamaths was, by Commissary Applegate's order, "reduced and broken of his rank for disafection [sic] among not only his own, but other bands of Indians. His place has been filled by the election of 'Barcley' [LeLu] a man every way fit to fill the office."[236] The Walpapi Snakes continued to be represented by Tcháktot, however; this chief is frequently mentioned as active in Indian affairs at Yainax, in the records of the Oregon Superintendency for the late 1860's and 1870's.[237] There is only one possible reference, as far as I know, of the other Walpapi chief whom Lindsay Applegate names as having come on the Reservation at the same time Tcháktot did. In his monthly report for April, 1872, Ivan D. Applegate says: "The Summer Lake band of Snakes under Chief Chocktoot and Kilo-to-ik[238] are decidedly in favor of remaining permanently here, and take much interest in ... farming operations, and in improvement generally."[239]

In 1869 Col. Elmer Otis, commanding the District of the Lakes, states that "Choe-tote's Band" numbered "about one hundred and eighty (180) Indians, young and old, male and female."[240] In 1872 the population of the Walpapi Snakes is officially given as 38 males, 60 females, total 98;[241] this agrees with Col. Otis' statement of the same year that "Choctote's band then consisted of about 100 souls."[242] In March, 1872, however, Ivan D. Applegate wrote from Yainax that "During the month the Klamath Indians of this place[243] together with about one hundred and fifty Snakes went with permission to Lost River where they have caught and dried a very large supply of fish. The Ocheo or Piute band remaining here."[244] In 1873 Klamath Indian Agent L. S. Dyar gives the Walpapi population as one hundred and twenty-eight.[245]

Direct descendants of Tcháktot and Panai'na still live at the "Piute Camp" near Beatty, Ore.,[246] but as far as I could judge from a brief visit at Klamath Agency in 1952, the name Walpapi has passed out of common usage. Members of the single Northern Paiute group now living on the Klamath Reservation are usually

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
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Upper Sonoran zone as described by Steward,[3] and consists primarily of desert shrubs, including many different varieties of sagebrush and greasewood. Around the lakes and along the streams there are grasses and other plants, the seeds, roots, or berries of which were used for food. Willow bushes also grow along the streams. Where the elevation is higher than 5,000 feet, juniper and mahogany trees are found. Deer, mountain sheep, and antelope live in the foothills and jackrabbits abound throughout the terrain.

The nature of the environment is such that although the region included approximately 6,192 square miles it did not support more than about two hundred individuals. This estimate is for the period just preceding the establishment of the Malheur Reservation in 1872 and would indicate that including the entire region over which the people wandered, the average density of population was one person per thirty square miles.[4] It is possible, however, that the population was denser at an earlier period, as stories are told of two bad epidemics which took a large toll of life two generations ago.[5] My estimate is computed from reports of the winter camp groups which existed in the childhood of old informants.

In the old days, the entire life of the Paiutes was oriented around the quest for food, which was none too plentiful. Around the first of May when the first green shoots broke through the ground, they left their winter camps and went to those places where they knew the early edible roots abounded. Nigger Flat, in the northeast corner of the valley, was the most frequented place and many families camped here while the women dug *epos* (Yapa, Carum oreganum Wats), *hu. ni'bui* (Lomatium macrocarpium C and R), *tsuga* and *sanatsuga* (unidentified). While the women were gathering these roots and preparing the *tsuga* and some *yapa* for storage, the men visited the Drewsey River to set up and repair their salmon traps so that they would be ready for the spring run. When their work was over, the women moved down to the river with their skin sacks full of roots and helped the men dry the salmon which they caught. When the run was over, the group broke up and families wandered off by themselves, hunting deer, sagehens, and other birds and collecting the different seeds and roots as they ripened. The first seed to ripen was the sunflower, *aki* and *kusiaki* (Balsamorhiza hooken Nutt). Later the women went to those places where *atza* (Sisymbrium Sophia L.) grew in large quantities. This seed was cached for winter consumption. Most of these early plants grew well in the northern part of the valley.

Around the fifteenth of July, families began to congregate at Cow Creek, about five miles east of Harney. Families from all over the valley and from the Hunibui Eater band to the north came to gather crickets. The women went out

[3] Julian H. Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups* (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 120), p. 17.

[4] See *ibid.*, p. 49, for contrast with other regions of the Great Basin.

[5] One of these may be related to the epidemic of measles which swept through the Cayuse and Umatilla in 1847.

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
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657 together in the hills outside Burns, living in crude tule or gunnysack "wickiups."
[186] They could no longer support themselves by collecting and hunting, because most of the land was privately owned and much of the game had disappeared. They
[444 were forced to depend partially on the garbage cans of the town of Burns. Some
273] of the men and women found work in the brewery which was the first flourishing industry of the town[15] and were paid by being allowed to tap off as much beer as they could drink at the end of a day. Some worked on the ranches, the men haying and helping tend cattle and sheep and the women helping in the kitchens. In 1924 the government sent Captain Tastall, the new agent at Warm Springs, to
[511] make a report on the conditions at Burns. He found the Indians hungry and diseased. As a result of his report nineteen army tents were sent to Burns and set up to replace the old camps. Later twenty two-room houses and a church were built and a school was set up for the children. In 1928 the school was closed, and an attempt was made to enter the children in the public school in Burns. The white residents, however, refused to admit them on the ground that they all had trachoma, tuberculosis, and venereal diseases. Donegan was sent to Washington to protest against their inclusion in the public schools and, as a result, another Indian school was started and a doctor and field matron were put in charge of the camp.

[797] In the last ten years a Catholic priest named Peter Hoyle, who was said by residents of Burns to have been defrocked and run out of Burns, has taken up his residence in the Indian camp and has attempted to help the Indians recover the Malheur Reservation. He convinced them that they had a case against the government and promised them money if not land. As a result of his work the government built a group of new houses on the north side of Burns where it was possible to irrigate the land. A new agent was sent out who was instructed to teach the Indians to become farmers, a task which appears now to be impossible.

Hoyle viewed this action on the part of the government as a gesture of appeasement and an attempt to stop the suit for the recovery of the reservation. He tried to persuade the Indians not to accept the offer but to hold out for more. Half the camp, however, did not agree to his policy and moved into the new houses. The rest remain in the old camp.

[161] In all, the present population is about 110 or an average of 5.5 individuals per house. Of these about ten are over sixty-five. The majority of the families are direct descendants of the old Wada Eater band. Two of the old inhabitants belong
[162] to the other bands—one to the Tagu Eaters and the other to the Hunibui Eaters. Many of the families are related to families of the Ground Hog Eater band at Fort Bidwell, and the Hunibui Eater band, many of whom are now at Warm Springs.

[15] According to local history, the town of Burns grew around a beer keg. All the settlers used to meet in a little store which made and sold beer and which was named in honor of the Scotch bard, Robert Burns.

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
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magically so that they could be easily killed. The antelope power of one man manifested itself in an ability to run fast. He was able to kill mountain sheep with his feet and hands. Two women also had antelope power and were swift runners. They seem, however, to have used their power merely to win foot races.

The firearms used by the whites against the Paiutes in the latter half of the nineteenth century were another problem which the Paiutes had to face. Against bullets, their bows and arrows were of little use. To most men it seemed suicidal to fight against such odds, but some men had supernatural power which made them bullet proof. Since bullets could not hurt them, they were able to hold off companies of soldiers while the women and children escaped. They inspired the other men and led them in raids against the whites. Women also had this type of power and could be killed only by stoning.

Some individuals had love power, by which they could make anyone succumb to their charms. It was employed primarily by old men and women to win young lovers.

Those persons who had "bad power," i.e., sorcery power, could use it to hurt others. They could make sick or kill any person they did not like. They were often referred to as "people eaters."

I gathered information about ninety individuals, living and dead, who had power. Of these the largest group were bullet proof; the next largest group were doctors and people accused of being sorcerers. Of the other types of power there were but few representatives.[3]

Before the reservation was established, the population which wintered in Harney Valley was about two hundred. After this time, members of other bands joined the Harney Valley group. According to the author's estimates, about eighteen per cent of the total population had power at any given period. Two per cent were doctors, and seven per cent were reputed sorcerers. The percentage of bullet proof men is very difficult to compute. It is evident, however, that before the reservation was established, when there was constant friction with the whites, they far outnumbered any other group. There is some evidence that there were arrow proof men at an earlier period. In the last ten years there have been five people with bullet proof power living in Burns, as against three doctors and eight or nine persons accused of sorcery.

The spirit agent who befriends the individual may be an animal, a meteorological phenomenon, a plant, or some material object. The following list, though probably far from complete, gives a sample of the supernatural agents who, within

[3] In actual numbers, thirty-four had bullet proof power (four of these being also doctors); twenty-four were doctors; twenty were accused of sorcery; four had power over snakes; two had power to run fast; one had power over antelope; two had power to let blood; two had power over bears; one had power over fire; one had power to control weather; and one had power in hunting.

II. Paviotso Shamanism

Introduction

The material on Paviotso shamanism presented in this section was collected in the course of ethnographic field investigations carried on by the writer over a period of three summers.[1] Before the coming of the whites, the Paviotso roamed over the semi-arid country of western Nevada and Honey Lake Valley in California. In the winter and spring they lived on the shores of the lakes of this region—Pyramid, Humboldt, Carson and Walker Lakes of Nevada, and Honey Lake in California. Probably at no time did the population exceed three thousand. At the present time there are nearly a thousand full-blooded and half-breed Paviotso living on the Pyramid Lake, Walker River, and Fallon reservations and in the small colonies at the Nevada towns of Reno, Yerington, and Lovelock.

The Paviotso or Northern Paiute living largely in western Nevada, belong to the Mono-Paviotso branch of Shoshonean-speaking peoples. Although dialectically and geographically very close to the Paiute of Surprise and Owens valleys, the Nevada bands form an ethnic unit quite distinct from their linguistic relatives in California.[2]

Under aboriginal conditions, the Paviotso were on friendly and intimate terms with the Northern Paiute of Surprise and Owens valleys in California, to whose language their own is closely related. The Washo, living immediately to the west, were peaceful but not friendly. Contacts with these people were infrequent. Constant warfare was carried on with the Pit River Indians of California, who were their traditional enemies. The northeastern Maidu were also unfriendly and often came into conflict with the Paviotso. Other people in northeastern California and southern

[1] A preliminary account based on the first summer's field work was published in 1934 (see Park, *Paviotso Shamanism*). Material obtained on subsequent trips added considerable data, modified some, and corroborated other aspects of the earlier statement. The present account of Paviotso practices, although offered as a more accurate picture, is but a summary. It is hoped that it will be possible in the near future to publish the detailed material as a part of a rounded account of Paviotso culture. This chapter can thus be regarded essentially as a skeletonized version of Paviotso practice and belief.

[2] Kelly, *Surprise Valley Paiute*, 70–73; Steward, *Owens Valley Paiute*, 235–237.

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APPENDIX 2. NOTES ON THE NORTHERN PAIUTE

BY

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The territory within the limits of Nevada now inhabited by the Northern Paiute includes the counties of Washoe, Humboldt, Pershing, Churchill, Lyon, Storey, Ormsby, Douglas, and Esmeralda, a total of 27,239 square miles, or one-third of the area of the state. Within these counties there was, in 1910, an Indian population of 3353, including 536 Washo and 60 Mono.[166] This would make 9 Indians per 100 square miles. How the present population compares with the population of primitive times is a matter for speculation.

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NORTHERN PAIUTE BANDS

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The Northern Paiute were divided into numerous bands of one hundred or more individuals each, so that individuals of one kin kept together in their seasonal travels in search of food. The Handbook of American Indians lists 61 of these bands,[167] but only about half of them are really Northern Paiute, the others being located in Mono or Shoshoni territory. Natches gave a list of bands, or "families" as he called them, as follows.

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saï'i, short form of sai-duka'a, "tule-eaters," a mythical people formerly living in various parts of Nevada. The Handbook gives what appears to be the same name, Saidyuka, as a band of eastern Oregon.

neme, "people" or "person," the Northern Paiute name for their own people from Walker lake, Nevada, to Snake river, Idaho. They call their language numa. Another name for themselves, at least those from Humboldt lake to Oregon, was agitsi'i.

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[166] Indian Population United States and Alaska, 1910, pp. 23, 28. U. S. Census Bur., 1915.

[167] Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, Bur. Am. Eths., pt. I, 1907; pt. II, 1912. Names of bands and data regarding them are found in articles as follows: Mono-Paviotso (including Snakes and Saidyuka of Oregon), Paviotso, Sawagatiya, Itsaatiaga, Toiwait, Kosipatuwiwagaiya, Kuyuidika, Pamitoy, Laidukatuwiwaid, Omaga, Watsequcorda, Winnemucca (The Giver), Warartika, Tenoyiet, Tompe, Wahi, Tupastikuttsh, Tubiawapa, Hadnpoka, San Joaquin's Band, Odukso, Potodneka, Tosarke, Postsitsikikutsh.

Wadátkuht

claim" (ibid.). Apparently the Wadátkuht shared the eastern
13/ half of Madeline Plains with the Kamötkuht. The Wadátkuht admit only to having used this area for periodic hunting and gathering. They said that it was too cold to have any winter villages there. It seems likely that the Kamötkuht may have felt the same way about this area. The Kamötkuht appear to have been rather close friends, and often relatives, of the Secret Valley Wadátkuht, thus a boundary would have slight significance to either group. At the present stage of information it seems proper to represent a boundary line between Secret Valley and Madeline Plains as a broken line to indicate that little or no boundary was recognized by the Paiute people utilizing both areas. The eastern half of Madeline Plains will be considered to be a region of mutual utilization by both the Kamötkuht and the Secret Valley Wadátkuht. Large archaeological sites in Madeline Plains indicate considerable occupation in some pre-contact time. These sites need not represent winter villages, however.

McDonald Peak seems to be an outstanding boundary marker between the Pit River people and the Paiute. Ike Northrup even told of Clark's Valley and Blue Lake, which are about eighteen miles northeast of McDonald Peak, being jointly used by Paiute and Pit River people. However, McDonald Peak can certainly stand as a major pivot for the Paiute-Pit River boundary. The use of Clark's Valley and Blue Lake by some Wadátkuht appears to be the exception rather than the rule. It seems worthwhile to mention, however, that Ike stated that Red Rock, about ten miles east of McDonald Peak, was as far as the Pit River people came.

16/ A population estimate is rather difficult to make for the Honey Lake Paiute but an estimate of 200 persons made by Gladys Mankins would appear to be about as close a guess as can now be made. My informants gave me a complete census of the two groups of Wadátkuht as of circa 1880-1890, at least far as their memory served them. The Honey Lake group had somewhat more than 30 persons living at the village of Matá. The Secret Valley group had about the same number living together in one of their villages at this same time. Assuming that possibly as many as 25 more individuals were living elsewhere in the Wadátkuht territory at this same time we have a total of nearly 100 Wadátkuht Paiute living circa 1880-1890. This number may be slightly excessive but is probably not too much out of line. Since introduced disease, warfare and accident claimed a great number of Wadátkuht victims it does not seem incorrect to suggest that the aboriginal Wadátkuht

Wadátkuht

population was approximately 200 persons. This number could be considered to be a conservative estimate in the light of the expectable decrease is population after contact. An example can be given to show how quickly the Wadátkuht population dropped. A group was camped at Horse Lake and was doing considerable gambling with gunpowder as stakes. Toward morning the players became careless and were handing the powder back and forth across the fire when the powder suddenly ignited and blew the camp up killing fourteen individuals. These people were not included in any of the village lists given me by my informants. Few if any names were given me of those people who died in the early epidemics of smallpox and other such diseases. It would seem, therefore, that an estimate of approximately 200 Wadátkuht Paiute is approximately correct for the aboriginal population of this group.

PHYSIOGRAPHIC FEATURES

The following is a listing of the names and a description of the physiographic features within, and occasionally bordering the homeland of the Honey Lake Paiute. It is surprising to note that some of the major features had no names, or at least could not be remembered by the informants. For example, Susan River had no name despite the fact that it is the major stream in the Wadátkuht territory. The same is true for some of the other streams, although some creeks do have names.

1. Wago' yamos[a] ("Timber Bend"). Two physiographic features are given this designation; one is the section of the Sierra between Thompson Peak and Diamond Mountain. The other is the section of the Sierra about six miles south of Doyle, in the vicinity of Crystal and Adams Peaks. The feature south of Doyle is not in Paiute territory but in Washo country. It is clearly visible from Doyle, however. These two features derived their name from the fact that at both places the timbered Sierra makes a slight bend.

Situated near the base of the Thompson Peak - Diamond Mountain feature is the Mountain Maidu village of Witai im (archaeological site Las-59). This historic Maidu village is called Wago' yamos[a] by the Paiute because of its proximity to the bend in the mountain range.

2. Koda tawaka (the exact meaning was not given, but it refers to an untimbered, manzanita covered slope). Worley Mountain situated about 12 miles northwest of Susanville is

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182 22 [177] At the time of first contact the subsistence activities of the Paiute were based on an exploitation of a none-too-provident environment. The small groups of Paiute who lived together -- with the exception of those occupying the fertile Owens Valley -- appear to have been on the move almost constantly. Harvests of seed had to be made within a few days or weeks at the most, before the ripened seeds were scattered on the ground. Roots, berries, rodents, snakes, fish and insects were sought. Of primary importance were the pinenuts of the mountain areas. These provided a major source of food for survival through the winter. A general survey of foods available suggests that the area could support a larger number of people than it actually did (Steward, 1938, 14-33). Population figures show a high density in the Owens Valley (2.1 sq. mi. per person) to a low at Beatty (44 sq. mi. per person). In the area immediately to the north of Washo country -- called vaguely the Humboldt River country, in which the Carson Sink, Pyramid Lake and Humboldt Lake are located -- density ranged from 2.5 sq. mi. per person at Battle Mountain to 5 sq. mi. per person at Halleck and Wells (Steward, 1938, 48-9). The sporadic rainfall of the area was a limiting factor, often failing completely and reducing plant harvests, so that population appears to have been geared to the minimum rather than the maximum food supply.

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224 [226] [222] I have included rodents, fish and insects under the gathering aspects of Paiute life. The pronghorn antelope, the jack rabbit, the mule deer and mountain sheep were the animals most frequently hunted. The first two species appear to have been hunted largely in communal drives. The mule deer was hunted occasionally by groups who drove the animals into ambush or over cliffs (Stewart, 1941, 366, 422). Dogs were used by some bands to aid in deer hunting (Stewart, 1941, 422). Deer were also hunted by individuals or small groups of stalkers, a method that appears to have been the only one used to take mountain sheep where these animals were available.

Rabbits were perhaps the most important hunted species because of their relative abundance. Antelope herds were almost totally depleted by a single drive and could not be hunted in the same area for a number of years. [476] [571] The antelope and rabbit were significant in terms of social organization because the communal hunts were among the few occasions when any large number of Paiute assembled in the same place. This, however, was limited by the period of time the captured game could support a large group of people.

182 22 In general the ecological adaptation of the Paiute was one of small groups of people shifting within relatively wide areas in response to the appearance of various wild crops and animals. The pinenut appears to have